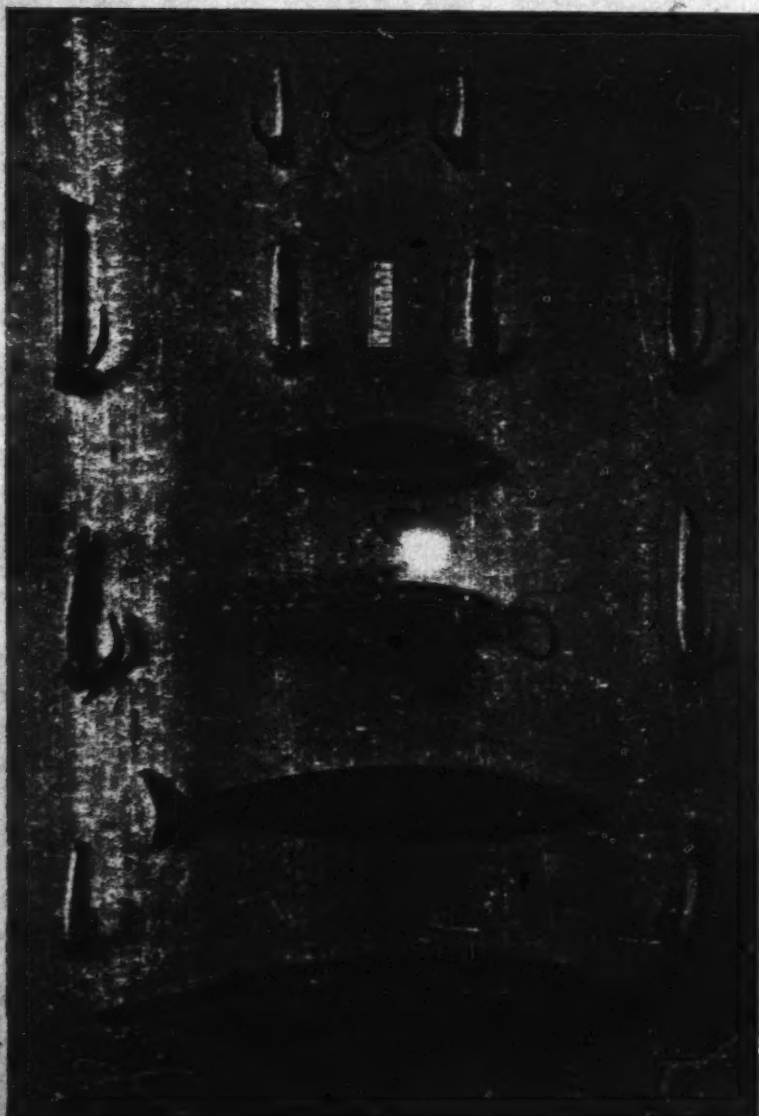


1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 42



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BONITO HOOKS AND MODEL FISH

[facing p. 330]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

• 227
286
415



THORN-LINED FISH-TRAP AND LANDING-NET WITH
BAIT BOX

[facing p. 331]

226 are caught, even if only a single one, there is great rejoicing. If the catch is a large one, the fish are shared by all the people of the village; a small catch is distributed among the men who went out; if only one fish is taken it belongs to the owner of the canoe.

The most important place in this region, in connexion with bonito fishing, is the island of Pororan. Men from other parts of Buka and from the north coast of Bougainville go to Pororan to learn the special magic required for it, and it is from there that the stone fish which play an important part in that magic are obtained. The men who were specialists in these matters at Kurtatchi said that they had learnt what they knew from the people of Pororan, who knew much more than they did.

226 Bonito fishing is the work of men exclusively; the women have
462 no part in the catching, but they are permitted to carry home, clean, and cook the fish. The older boys take part in it while still wearing the *upi*, but I did not hear of any ceremony corresponding to the 'making *malaohu*' described by Ivens (1927, pp. 131 ff.) in connexion with a boy's first fishing expedition.

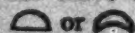
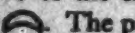
Bonito hook and rod.

- 227 Bonito are caught with a long flexible rod of bamboo, and a special hook, which is used for no other purpose.

227 This hook (*ayats* in the Petats dialect, *kamun* in the Kurtatchi
321 dialect) consists of a shell shank with a point made of turtle-shell.

[825] For the shank, *Tridacna* (clam) is generally employed, but *Meloe-*
grina (the black-lip oyster), *Conus* (the green-snail), *Turbo*, and *Cassia* are also used.

If made of clam shell, the shank is flattened on the under side, in other cases it may be slightly convex, following the curve of the shell, so that in cross-section it may be either

227  or  The proximal end has a small tang, behind which the
283 line is fastened. The line is never, so far as I know, carried along the upper side of the shank and attached near the point, as is described by Hiroa for Samoa (1930, p. 501). The distal end of the shank is cut so as to leave a projecting piece, or sometimes two, on each side; between and on both sides of this is twisted the lashing which secures the point. The lashing consists of native fibre-string, of different thicknesses according to the size of the hook, twisted round both point and shank several times, the arrangement differing considerably in individual specimens, but always very neatly finished. Tiny bits of wood are wedged on either side of

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the point, and the string is twisted round these also, for greater security.

The point is made of turtle-shell, generally of the 'green-back' variety, which is not scarce. I do not remember ever having seen a point made of anything else. The variety of shapes and curves can best be seen from the photographs of specimens I collected, but it is not apparent from the photograph (Pl. 42) that there is a series of grooves, three as a rule, on the back of the point near its place of attachment to the shank, round which the lashing is twisted. The hook has no barb. It is pointed out by Hiroa (1930, p. 508) that 'where every second is of importance . . . a barbed hook would be a drawback and not an advantage'.

The hooks vary considerably in size. Plate 42 shows a number of them photographed with a scale. When I asked what was the reason for these differences in size and material, my informants replied that some fishermen liked one kind, some another. No mention was made of choosing hooks of a colour suitable to weather and water conditions, as reported by Hiroa (1930, p. 498) for the Samoans, or that one kind was used in the bow and one in the stern as reported by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (Ivens, 1927, p. 134), so I am able to offer only negative evidence on these points.

One hook from Petats (the middle one on the left in Pl. 42) has a short string of trade beads, probably in place of shell disks, attached to the fastening of the point on either side. The man who brought it said these were to make it catch many fish. He was about to tell me more when another man came up, so he hastily said they were just put on for ornament. But later he came back and told me that when putting the beads on he spat on the hook and said (Petats dialect):

'Lē hitam, lē hitam, hokamut, lē ien.'

'Catch quickly, catch quickly,

catch fish.'

He could not explain the word *hokamut*, and as he asked me not to tell anybody in the village what the words were, I could not inquire further about it.

The rod is made of bamboo, about 2 inches in diameter at the proximal end, tapering towards the distal end. The length seems to be a matter of individual taste, about 12 feet would be a fair average. The line is the usual fish-line of fibre, and is about the same length as the rod.

THE FOOD QUEST

226 secretly into a calophyllum tree close at hand on the beach, breaks a limb of the tree, and calls out: '*I niga no ta ien naut mahū.*' ('It is well. The fish come to-morrow.') This is supposed to be a sign from the spirits to the men gathered there on the beach.

The men seat themselves again and chew betel-nut. While they are thus chewing, the assistant, or some other man specially appointed, comes up behind several of the seated men and steals their pepper-sticks. This is in imitation of the *atlin* stealing the fish-hooks of the fishermen.

[857] The betel-nut chewing continues until late at night. Then about ten o'clock the medicine man tells the men that it is time for them to go. He tells them, also, to let every one know that it is taboo for any one to walk along the beach with lighted flares, and small boys may not play on the beach spearing fish along the water's edge.

When the men have departed, the medicine man takes the *tokamu* (carved fish) and places it on his head. The fish's head must point to the bush. He holds it with both hands, and calls out to all the spirits to help him bring the *atlin* to the fishing-ground. He then buries the stone in the sand above high-water mark, allowing the head of the fish to protrude, pointing towards the bush. This is in order that the *atlin* may see the head of the fish and may copy its position by having their heads on top so that the fish-hooks may be seen and their mouths hooked. The medicine man then calls out the day when the *atlin* shall come. Sometimes it is five days from the time when the charm is buried in the sand; sometimes it is ten days, according to his intuition.

The place on the beach where the charm is buried is taboo, no one is allowed to approach.

On the day when the *atlin* is expected all the *mon* from the island are manned and are launched into the deep water. Here they form a line and await the advent of the fish. In each *mon* there are two fish-lines attached to bamboo poles. In smaller *mon*, where there are only two rowers, the bamboo pole and the fish-line is held by the steersman usually between his legs, to leave his hands free for steering. The bamboo pole is about twelve feet long. The fish-hooks are made from clam-shell with a tortoise-shell barb. (Clam-shell, *agats*; tortoise-shell barb, *nahits*.) Neither the steersman nor the men holding the bamboo are allowed to have sexual connexion with their wives during the night previous to the expedition.

The first *atlin* to be caught is held securely by one of the steersmen

THE FOOD QUEST

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9. Thorn-lined trap.
10. Stunning and poisoning.
11. Drives.

METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. Barricade of leaves.
13. Women's hand-net.
14. Basket.
15. Groping with hand under stones.
16. Collecting shell-fish.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

C. *Freshwater fishing.*

17. Hand-net.
18. Dam made of leaves.

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

226 A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

The outrigger canoe is used in these methods, and as a rule the fishermen do not go very far out, preferring the smoother water off the lee shore, though they do, in favourable weather, also venture into the open sea. Women do not take part in these excursions, but there are none of the sexual taboos which are observed in connexion with bonito fishing.

[834]

1. *Net on frame.*

- 227 The net (*š bean*, P.; *šb*, K.¹) is made of native fibre-string. This string is made of the tough fibrous layer underlying the skin of the stem of a running creeper called *karēb*, by rolling on the bare thigh. It must be made in short sections, as the creeper-stem is furnished with a series of nodes at intervals of six or seven inches, at which the fibre breaks off when stripped. The short lengths are joined by twisting the ends between the fingers. For the finer string, two strands of this fibre are sufficient. The action of rolling on the thigh is called *hamon*. This suffices for the finest nets for catching small fish. For lines intended for bonito and for nets for bigger fish several strands are twisted together on the thigh, and three sets of these are rolled (not plaited) over and over each other

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[824]

¹ P. = Petata dialect, K. = Kurtatchi dialect. The native terms given are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise specified.

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with one hand while held between the first and second finger of the other. The word for making string by twisting thus is *sē*. The string is made in all the villages of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville. The village of Hanahan has a reputation for making the finest nets. 227
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Both string-making and netting are occupations for men only. In making a net, one end is tied to a pole or some convenient object, often the ridge-pole of a hut, and the netting is done from side to side across the width of the net, with the help of a netting needle consisting of a piece of cane about a foot long, split at both ends. The string is wound round this and the whole needle is pushed through the mesh. A short flat piece of cane is used as a gauge. The knot is similar to that used in our own fishing-nets. [462]

The frame (*éviat*) is of bamboo, a stout cane for the proximal end, with a smaller cane lashed to it at its distal end; this may be followed by a still smaller one, till the required length is obtained. When the net is fixed, the distal end of the frame is pulled over into a curve. The distal end is fixed first, the string at the outer edge of the net being caught in a slit at the end of the frame. The other corners of the net are tied on to the frame (Fig. 13a). In the larger nets a separate piece of bamboo fixed at an angle to the main part of the frame supports the proximal end (Fig. 13b). Some men also make small nets in the same way, and add a handle (Fig. 13c). To fix a net on to the frame is *nui u ēb*. It is done just before starting out on a trip; the nets are then placed in the canoe frame downwards, with the proximal ends protruding from one end of the canoe. On returning, the net is at once removed from the frame and stretched on branches or on the beach to dry; the frame, released from its curve, is put up in the lower branches of a tree. 227
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These nets are used in pairs. They vary greatly in size; a large pair will be as much as a man can lift. I have seen quite young boys using small pairs. The longest net, used for deep-sea fishing, is called *hābī*; many kinds of fish are caught by it. The names of some of them, in the Kurtatchi dialect, are *amots*, *susui*, *metapusi*, *tamaget*, *nommo*, *mutul*, the last being described as a very large fish (about 4 feet long, as indicated by a gesture) with a square mouth. Another long net is called *hahawī*, and is used especially for catching *hōri* (mullet) on the reef. [825]

Fishing with the *ēb* is carried on either by a number of canoes working in conjunction, or by single canoes, in which one man 226

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226 paddles while another manipulates the nets. One of the pair, held by its middle, is also used without a canoe, the men walking along the edge of the reef at low tide and sweeping the water just beyond the reef.

Another method, which I have not seen, and for which the sea at Kurtatchi is unsuitable, is thus described by Mr. Gordon Thomas as he saw it off the island of Pororan: Each man holds

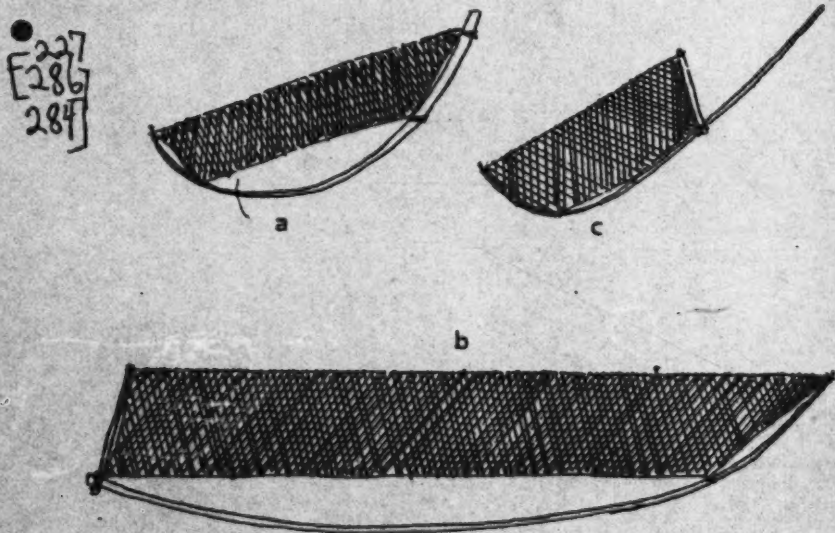


FIG. 13. Methods of fastening net to frame.

a net in either hand and forms one of a large extended semicircle. These nets are from 10 to 12 feet in length, and in the daily fishing excursion which is taken at low water among the coral reefs, there are from twenty to thirty men. On a shoal of edible fish being sighted, each man leaves his canoe, and stepping into the water, which rises sometimes to his neck, takes his place in the extended semicircle, the point of his net touching that of his neighbour; thus a complete semicircle is formed; two or three canoes then approach the opening of the half-circle, driving before them the fish, which become enmeshed in the nets.

Flying fish (*maglut*) are said to be caught with the *ab*. I neither saw nor heard of any floats for catching flying fish such as are described by Ivens in the SE. Solomons (1927, p. 384).

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THE FOOD QUEST

- 226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *gayur*, *malaisa*, *layini*.

- 226 *Gotois* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Pako (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

- 226 2. *Troll line*.

A heavy line (*palagon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

- 226 'Medicine' for catching fish with *palagon*.

- 824 *Katsim* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line*.

- 226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
 ● 227 of a rod (*awa*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
 [283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made
 [117] by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
 [439] used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally
 substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes
 [286] used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
 [415] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)
 [824]

226 824 *Riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Get some leaves; split them away from the mid-rib. Add a little *sisine*, and rub it on your hand. Then chew the root with betel-mixture, spit it on to your hand which holds the other mixture, and rub both on line.

4. Fishing kite.

226 133 While the three former methods are practised either inside or outside the reef, kite-fishing is generally confined to the smooth water between the reef and the shore, or in otherwise sheltered water. The term 'lagoon' is current locally to indicate any such stretch of sheltered water, not necessarily so fully enclosed as in the case of the lagoons of atolls, which are rarely found in this area. It is applied, for example, to the stretch of sea between the west coast of Buka and its fringing reef, from which rises the string of islands including Petats and Pororan, though the protecting reef is open at both ends and has gaps in it. In fair weather, this stretch of water is very suitable for kite-fishing, and it was there that I saw it being carried on. The people of the north coast of Bougainville are also acquainted with the fishing kite, but they use it less frequently, as in order to do so they have to go across the peninsula to the relatively sheltered water of Soraken bay, the open sea off their own villages being unsuitable.

226 171 *Distribution.* Kite-fishing is remarkable not only for its ingenuity, but also for its geographical distribution. This is discussed in a paper by H. Balfour (1913, p. 583), who traces it from a probable centre of dispersion 'somewhere in the eastern area of the Malayan Archipelago', as one of a series of cultural objects whose distribution can be followed over an area stretching from Singapore to Santa Cruz.

227 824 *Construction.* The kite (*vanatoa*, P.) is made of five fronds of the sago-palm leaf, of which the two outer ones have the leaf stripped from one side of the mid-rib which thus acts as a stiff outside edge. The central leaf is turned back from its mid-rib for about a third of its length, which projects to form a tail to which is attached the string trailing the lure, towards the tip, and the string held by the fisherman, at the end of the split-off portion. This string is again fastened lower down the mid-rib, by means of a loose loop. The doubled leaf forms the central part of the body of the kite; two others, with the mid-rib stripped off, are stitched to either side of it,

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 44



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561

FISHING KITE

[facing p 348]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 45

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● 227



GARFISH CAUGHT WITH KITE

[facing p. 349]

THE FOOD QUEST

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and turned back so that they are somewhat shorter than the central leaf. Any gaps between these two and the central leaf or the outside leaves are filled in by stitching on separate small pieces of leaf. The whole is strengthened by three pieces of thin cane laid horizontally across the breadth of the kite, one at each end and one about a third of the way from the narrower end. The ends of the three mid-ribs are brought together in a point and securely fastened. The shape of the kite can best be seen from the illustration (Pl. 44). A typical specimen measures $34\frac{1}{2}$ inches along the central mid-rib to the end of the body (the tips project $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond this), and $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches across at the top of the body. 227 ●

The kite is flown by means of native fibre-string. It trails a lure of spider's web tangle (species not yet identified), collected in the bush by twirling a forked stick in places where the tangle stretches over the underbrush, till a thick mass of it is twisted round the stick. This is taken off and pressed into a wad about 3 inches long and half an inch thick, which is tied on to the end of the tail string, and played on the surface of the water by the movements of the kite. It serves both as lure and hook, the teeth of the garfish being caught in it. 825

This method of fishing is used only for taking garfish (*sosoa*, P.) of which there are two kinds, one much larger and more highly esteemed than the other. 226

Method of use. Outrigger canoes are used, generally small ones, as a man will frequently go out single-handed, though two may go together. There should be a little wind, but not too much, and the fish bite better if the sun is shining and the tide low. The bait is released first, and is towed behind the canoe for a few moments; then the fisherman releases the kite, which keeps the bait moving just on the surface of the water. The kite-string is held in the fisherman's teeth, leaving his hands free to paddle the canoe; occasionally he uses one hand to pull in or let out the string. When a fish bites, he pulls the kite in first and puts it in the boat, then he hauls in the fish, its teeth fast in the tangle. He bends it double just behind its head, and puts a finger and thumb on each side of its head at the edge of its long mouth, thus wrenching the mouth open and pulling off the tangle (Pl. 45). This photograph was taken from the other end of the canoe). The tangle is used again and again till it is torn to shreds.

Magical procedure connected with kite-fishing. When a new kite

226 411 In the olden days they were made of the wood of a species of areca-palm (not the edible one) which is very hard. Four spikes were set outside and a fifth in the centre. They say these spears made so much splash that they frightened the fish and so were much less effective than the present ones. The spear is plunged into the middle of a shoal of small fish (*silohon*, P.) resembling sardines, which come close in shore so that they can easily be reached by a man standing on a log or wading in shallow water. The spear is sometimes thrown and then picked up, or it may be tied to the end of a fishing line and pulled back after each throw. It is also used from a canoe (outrigger). I have seen boys use the spear to pole the canoe, much as we pole a punt; at the appropriate moment the spear is thrown, the boy picks up a paddle from the bottom of the canoe, and paddles the canoe, standing, until he can retrieve the spear.

226 373 This method of fishing is frequently carried on at night, with the aid of torches made of bundles of coco-nut-palm leaf fronds tied back on to the stem. The natives do not regard the light as a lure, but say it helps them to see the fish which are then speared. A number of canoes will go out together and fish in line, looking very picturesque with the sparks flying. If a spark ignites a man's loin-cloth or burns his skin he promptly jumps overboard. They would not let me accompany them on these expeditions for fear of my clothing catching alight.

7. Line and hook.

226 227 A simple line may be used without a rod, being thrown by hand. It is usually provided nowadays with a small trade hook, baited with a small fish caught by one of the two methods just described. If no hook is to hand, the fish is tied on to the end of the line. Sometimes a bit of wood is used as a float (*ta'oig*). By this means are caught the larger fish which prey upon the *silohon* (*kabeluk* in the Petats dialect, I think the trevally fish). A rod may also be used for these, wielded by a man standing on a rock or a log close inshore, and making a cast whenever the jumping of the shoal of *silohon* indicates that they are being pursued.

226 373 Line-fishing is also carried on by torchlight; I have the names of several kinds of fish usually caught in this manner. Here again, the natives say that they use the torches not to attract the fish, but to enable them to see where the fish are.

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8. *Hand plunging-trap.*

The hand plunging-trap is used for catching small fish which ²²⁶ come in shoals, chiefly the kind called *silohon* in the Petats dialect, resembling sardines. It can be used only in very shallow water.

Construction. The trap (*évu*, P.) is made of a large number of ²²⁷ mid-ribs of coco-nut palm leaf fronds (*so'op*, P.) bound together with fibre-string at regular intervals throughout their length, the rows of ties being about 3 inches apart. When not in use, it lies flat. In a specimen which I brought home the length from top to bottom is $53\frac{1}{2}$ inches and its width, doubled, is about 3 feet at the bottom. It is prepared for use by the insertion of a circle of cane mounted on a handle, all bound round with the tough creeper used ^[824] for canoe-making (*aisam*). The cane frame (*hapirik*, P.) is thrown into the wide end of the *évu* with some force, so that the handle falls through the narrow end, where the mid-ribs are fixed close together. The mid-ribs are then gathered round the handle and securely fastened, with a slight twist such as one gives when rolling an umbrella. Thus prepared, the whole trap opens out when held vertically by the handle. When expanded ready to be dropped into the water, the *évu* looks like an old-fashioned full skirt.

Method of use. A description of one man's method of handling ²²⁶ it will indicate the way in which it is used. He started work early in the morning, about an hour after sunrise, because he saw the little fish making a commotion in the water close inshore. He stood in water up to his knees, about 6 feet from the beach. At first he held the trap horizontally, with the pointed end to the right, his right hand on the stick at its top, and his left on the upper edge of the bottom of the trap, which hung limp. Presently he turned it vertically, so that it opened out. He kept it suspended just over the surface of the water, remaining quite still for several minutes. Then he heard fish splashing a short distance off, so he went over to the place where they were and waited again. Presently he pushed the trap down into the water, and quickly bunched the ends together with his feet. Then, bending down, he caught up the ends in a bundle with both hands and pulled the whole thing out of the water thus. He carried it to the beach and opened it out on the sand. It held twenty-seven *silohon*; he said that was a poor catch.

I have also seen men sitting on the low branches of trees which overhung the water, waiting with the *évu* ready poised, then, when the fish splash below them they drop the *évu* on to the fish and jump

226 off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *évu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *évu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

226 There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-
227 stems of a thorny vine of the *Calamus* species, fastened, roughly
[824] in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed
at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43).
The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are
set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not
seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was pro-
cured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan.
I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars
concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect
(which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of
which it is constructed is called *kakul*. The trap is baited with
ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving
depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at
the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with
certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth
showing. It is used exclusively by men. The fish usually caught
by it are a red fish (*taulō*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs
[825] to the olden days' and is not much used now.

171 *Distribution.* It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the
227 thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite
(*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its
almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most
convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity
between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and
Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

226 The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from
824 the plant called *t/n*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of
trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare
it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the
suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots
are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

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no suitable shore. The 'flipping' method is used to catch fish in rock pools (see Fig. 14, figure at left bottom corner). 226

13. *Small net.*

There is a small hand-net (*batsuts*, K.) peculiar to the women, used to catch fish in rock pools left in the reef at low tide. In shape it resembles the *eb*, but is much smaller, and of finer string. To ensure success with this, the following 'medicine' is used: 226
227 ●
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Paparau (a large tree).

Small pieces of the roots of this tree are chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the net. Men are not allowed to use this medicine.

14. *Basket.*

A certain form of basket (*bona*, K.) is in great demand among the women of Kurtatchi for fishing the rock pools. Two are required, one is held in the hand and its mouth pressed against likely crevices and openings, the other is carried on a cord round the wrist to receive the result of each attempt. These baskets are different from the *amat* used at Petats with the festoon of leaves, being much more closely woven, of softer material, apparently some kind of grass, and are very pliant. The shape is rectangular, and the two edges lie close together when the basket is not held open. 226
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There is a 'prescription' for use with this method also:

Marenoat (a large tree).

Chew the root of this tree with betel-mixture, spit on to a small twig of the same tree. Put the twig into your basket and rattle it, the fish will then come into the basket. [824]

15. *Groping under stones.*

The women do not need either net or basket in order to go fishing. They will never pass a likely looking hole or crevice on a reef without feeling around it to see if there are any fish lurking there, and are very skilful in pulling them out with their bare fingers. They also pile up stones into heaps on the reef in order to provide suitable hiding-places for the fish. These heaps are called *ma's*. A net is sometimes placed by them. This practice is prevalent in all the coast villages throughout the area. 226

16. *Gathering shell-fish.*

An account of fishing methods would not be complete without mention of the occupation over which the women spend more time

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226 than any other, except for their work in the taro garden. This is the search for shell-fish on the reef and in the sand. Several hours of most days are spent in this way, which is a sure, if somewhat slow and laborious, method of providing a relish for the evening taro. A great variety of shells is collected; perhaps the most numerous are of the cowrie species, particularly a white variety with a blue patch on the back.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

The 'Portuguese Man-o-War' (*Velella*) is esteemed a delicacy. Fig. 15 is a young man's drawing of a man and his wife collecting these creatures. The magic to bring them within reach is in the hands of the women. They go secretly to the shore, and call out the names of places from which the *tsuwaluy* are to come, starting from Nissan. Then they rub lime over the leaves of the creeper [824] *kurits tsuwaluy*, and holding these leaves in their hands, they say: 'All the women are waiting with their baskets and *kōbū*. To-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluy*.'

C. Freshwater Fishing.

Freshwater fish are taken in the larger rivers. There were no rivers accessible to the villages in which I resided, so I can only record this from what my informants told me. Two methods were described, both of which might be used by either men or women, or by both sexes in conjunction.

17. Hand-net.

226 A net similar to that used in sea-fishing, and also called *ēb*, is used from an outrigger canoe, or from the bank. To fish with the 227 *ēb* in fresh water is *wagan i ruin*. Either rivers or the large pools sometimes found in the bush will serve for this method of fishing.

18. Dam.

226 A selected area is fenced off by means of a dam made of the large heavy leaves of the bush banana or of plaited coco-nut palm leaves. This is called *pipiy a ruin si rakrak*, 'to barricade a river so that it is dry'. The fish left stranded on the portion from which the water is kept back are either speared or picked up.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

USEFUL ARTS

people of North Bougainville, who never make them. They are paid for in pots or taro or other goods, to the value of about 3s. of our money for a plain hood and 5s. or 6s. for an ornamented one. 403 184
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Sleeping Mats

Sleeping mats (*pópolat* in the Petats dialect) are made in exactly the same manner as the hoods, except that they are left as a flat piece, composed of two layers of leaves. They are generally used for lying upon, but sometimes also as a covering on cold nights. I did not see any of these in use in the villages of Bougainville; there the people sleep on bare planks without mats or covering of any sort either above or below them, except for their loin cloths, which they ordinarily retain at night. 285
513
[184]

Baskets

A basket made of grass is used by the women when they go fishing for tiny fish in the rock pools on the reef at low tide, or collecting shell-fish. They are usually made in pairs, one slightly smaller than the other. The women tie the larger one round their waists, to serve as a storing-place for the catch. The smaller one they hold with one hand in front of holes, between stones, or at other possible hiding-places, and with the other hand they shepherd into it, in a most skilful manner, the fish that come out. I did not see these made, so am unable to describe the process. 285
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227

At Petats another kind of basket is made for this purpose, and is used also in fishing with the *pilu* (see p. 356). It is circular in shape, very stiff, with an open mesh, and is made of the outside rind of the stem of a plant, trimmed with a black-lip oyster shell into long strips about one-fifth of an inch wide. Both ends of two pieces of these are fixed, one end generally being tucked into the folds of the loin-cloth, the other being held between the toes. The two strips are thus held taut, parallel to each other, their length being that required for the basket. Two pieces are then threaded through, one under both these two straight strips, the other over both. These second strips are then crossed over each other, their ends being left free. Two more are threaded in the same way below them, and every alternate cross-over is tied with a bit of rind. The width of the basket is added to by placing parallel strips on either side of the original two; the free ends of the cross-over pieces are then threaded in the same way over and under 285
[227]

As far as nets are concerned, I observed *seines* of great length everywhere. Their breadth or depth varies from 75 centimeters to 2 meters, and the length from 50 to 300 meters. The very large nets are always the common property of a village or the inhabitants of a small island. In addition, one finds also the hand nets described by Guppy, which are fastened to a frame that is open at the bottom. These also have the most varied sizes. There are small ones, about 1 1/2 meters long, and others that are 8 to 10 meters long. As a rule these nets are used in such a way that a whole group of men surround a school of fish and then, with nets set adjacent to one another, gradually decrease the size of the circle so that the fish cannot escape. Fishing by means of square nets, which are fastened to the four corners of a cross of bamboo cane, does not extend on the east side of Bougainville any farther north than the Martin Islands. In sheltered waters one frequently sees high frames of thin tree trunks or bamboo canes, between which spread nets hang. The fisherman sits on the frame and drops the net, in which normally some bait is placed, into the sea; when he sees that fish are swimming above it, he cautiously raises it and thus catches the prey.

Fishing by means of a kite is carried on all the way to Buka. The kite is made from a type of broad palm leaves; the light cord to which it is attached is fastened to the boat; another string, from which a fish hook hangs, extends from the kite to the surface of the sea. The boat is propelled against the wind by its occupants; if a fish bites, the kite sinks, and the catch is pulled in. On the high seas one frequently sees bonitos being caught with hooks. Here it is necessary that the boat be propelled rapidly. Therefore bonito fishing takes place in the large fast boats that are manned by many rowers. Then a long fishing rod of bamboo is set out on the right and on the left, and to each is attached an approximately 30 meter line, and to this the hook. Iron fishhooks have replaced in part the original hook, but the latter still preferred for bonito catching. This hook has great similarity to the fishhook of the Polynesians; the rather long arm, to which the line is fastened, is a piece of tridachna shell of, at most, 9 centimeters in length and 1/2 centimeter in width with an oblong oval cross section. At the upper end a notch is cut so that the line may be fastened better; at the lower end there are two or three notches on each side, which serve to secure the approximately 4 centimeter long curved, very sharp hook of tortoise shell.

On the reefs fish are caught with a spear, and also with arrows.

On north Bougainville I repeatedly observed a multi-pronged arrow; ²²⁶ the points attached to the arrowshaft, which were arranged after the ²²⁷ fashion of the well-known fishing spears, consisted of 4 to 6 very sharp and pointed bamboo splinters. The owners of these arrows were inhabitants of the interior; I assume that the arrow is used principally in the rivers and water courses in the interior since I never observed it among the coastal inhabitants.

North Bougainville and Buka have one fishing method that is not found in the south: namely, fishing by means of artificial weir baskets. These weir baskets (in Buka: fwou) are made from the leaf ribs of the coconut palm; they are 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and conical in shape; the lower circular opening measures up to [35] one meter in diameter. The leaf ribs lie close together and are firmly attached at intervals of 5 to 10 centimeters; only the upper ends have no connection for a length of 15 to 25 centimeters. When using it, one inserts into the upper end a little ring of tough wood (in Buka: fapirik). This ring is fastened to a straight stick about 25 to 30 centimeters long by means of four thinner rods which run from its edge to the middle. The ring is used to make the weir basket taut; the projecting ends at the top of the basket are attached to the central rod by means of a string, and this keeps the entire implement taut. This weir basket is often used in shallow water; the fisherman holds the upper and pointed end in his hand and drops the open lower end over the fish to be caught.

In the narrow drains of the mangrove swamps the fish are caught by means of fish dams; these are made in the following way: between and on sticks which, at a distance of about 1 meter from each other, are stuck in the ground diagonally across the course of the water, a wicker work of coconut leaves is fastened, so that when the water level falls the fish are blocked off from the sea.

It goes without saying that all the fish caught in the sea are also ²⁶² used as food. Sea cucumbers, cuttlefish, snails and mollusks of every description find their way into the cooking pot. The native can exactly distinguish the poisonous fish--and their number is not slight--from the unarmful ones. Sharks and dolphins are considered delicacies, but there is no special catching apparatus for them; spear and arrow are the main weapons used. As a rule they sneak up on ²²⁵ tortoises on the small islands and sandbanks when the animals visit them to lay their eggs; many a tortoise who is resting on the surface of the sea is also killed by spear.

84 *Folk Stories from the Northern Solomons.*

539 either sex, further back than, and including, a grandparent.
825 Then he told the following story.

Muwatskawits and his kinsman.

[252] All the men went to catch *inang* (very small fish, which
[227] are boiled to make a kind of soup) with *auna* (nets having a
specially fine mesh). They caught *inang*. Muwatskawits
came close up to their legs all the time. My grandfather
(*tubune*) Tchiabuin was angry with him. "Don't come up
all the time round our legs. You must not bite the legs of
all these men." Muwatskawits came up underneath
Tchiabuin between his legs, and picked him up. He did
not eat him, he played with him, he carried him without
hurting him. He went inside his hole. He went, he talked,
and said: "You look at my bed, I want to show you my
place." He called out to all his children: "You fellows
come up, so that my kinsman can see all my children." He
showed him everything, then he brought him back to the
shore just opposite the place where our people are buried.
He (*i.e.* Tchiabuin) went ashore. He said: "Muwatska-
wits caught me in the water, he showed me his house, and
his bed, and all his children." They all made a feast for him,
they caught a pig, they washed my grandfather's skin, all
[184] the women got salt-water and poured it over his legs.
(This is the custom when anyone returns safely from a long
journey.) The shark came up, he went and lay on the sand.
My grandfather ran with a piece of the pig and gave it to
him.

Now if a shark from another place wants to eat us,
Muwatskawits chases him and kills him, so that he dies.
"You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come
here. If you don't go back I shall kill you."

[115] These stories were told me by Togen, a middle-aged man
living at Kurtatchi but originally from Timput, a village some
twenty-five miles further along the coast in an easterly direction.